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to an Unknown Addressee, Concerning
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The following letter was written by Grigore Niculescu-Buzesti to an unknown addressee, who is almost certainly a member of one of the Romanian political parties opposing the present Communist regime in Romania and most probably is a member of the National Peasant Party. This letter, the exact date of which is not known, was written in late July or early August 1948. The text of the document follows:

According to the information which I had given in June to my friends Parcaseanu and Veniamin, I have reasons to believe that General Radescu addressed to different Romanian personalities in exile a written appeal containing proposals and conditions for the formation of a committee. The object of this was to prove that the responsibility for the delays in the formation of the committee rested upon the political parties. The letter which I had proposed to send as quickly as possible to General Radescu and to the others was inspired precisely by the desire to keep this delay from being laid at the door of the political parties.

On 19 July General Radescu wrote me a personal letter in which he tried to blame me because the committee was not yet formed. He reproached me for not answering the several proposals which he had made to Ghileasan, and which, according to General Radescu, were of such a nature as to prove satisfactory from all points of view.

In reality, all these so-called proposals were only a repetition of the old points of view of General Radescu under a still more unacceptable form. In addition to suggesting personalities who, as General Radescu, had known for a long time, would not be accepted by the political parties, these proposals demanded that Professor Herescu be included in the committee, concerning whom there had been no question, and in exchange Mr. Viscaianu was excluded. In view of these conditions, I replied to General Radescu that I regretted that these so-called proposals were only the reaffirmation in a new, categorical form of the negative attitude which he had shown in January in regard to the proposals which were then made by the political parties. I pointed out that it was more than six months since the parties had made these concrete proposals toward which I noted, he had continued to maintain a negative attitude.

In this manner I rejected the accusation of being responsible for those delays, and I added that it seemed to me that an explanation for this delay

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would have to be found some place else. This answer was of a personal character due to the fact that when this reply was made I had not yet received from Paris the clarification which I had asked for in regard to the attitude of the parties. (This in connection with the fact that the project of a letter had undergone modifications which led me to believe that certain people hoped to reexamine the point of view adopted in the spring. I did not believe that I was authorized to make an official statement in the name of the parties before the receipt of the clarifications which had been requested.) I closed my letter by affirming my conviction that I had correctly expressed the point of view of the parties, and informed General Radescu that the proposals formulated in January by the political parties were still valid and that he himself would be able to bring about the formation of this committee if he reexamined them.

Only a few days elapsed between the reply to General Radescu and the receipt from Paris of the explanations requested, as well as the definite form of the letter which was to be sent to the personalities in the name of the political parties. I sent this letter the same day that I received the news from Paris because the personal letter which I had received from General Radescu gave me the impression that we would all too soon receive a setback from him. This fear was confirmed just two days after I had sent him my letter in the name of the parties, when General Radescu sent out his appeal now known to all those interested. In regard to this situation I would like to make the following observations:

1. The affirmations contained in General Radescu's letter which let it be understood that the State Department had asked him to take the initiative in the formation of a committee, do not correspond to reality. Enclosed is a note giving the conversation which I had on this subject at the State Department. The explanations which I received, and which are of an official character, prove that General Radescu tries to present the situation quite differently from what it is in reality.
2. I am convinced that if General Radescu carries out the project which he has announced (that is to say, if he proceeds with the formation of the committee) this would create a bad impression on the State Department independently of the persons who it is believed would have accepted his invitation. I am convinced that the State Department will not consider as being representative a committee in which the political parties do not participate. If General Radescu forms his personal committee with the five persons who will probably accept his invitation, he will then assume the responsibility for enlarging the split among the Romanians abroad. This fact could only displease the American Government, which attempts to realize the greatest possible unity among the different groups.
3. The formation of this committee under the conditions proposed by General Radescu would constitute a flagrant disregard of the Royal prerogative.
4. I have no doubt but that if he carries out his intention and proclaims the organization of this committee on 10 August (of which I am doubtful), General Radescu will put himself in a situation which will be far from advantageous to him. The Allied Governments will let him know that they do not wish to work with a committee which does not have a representative character. The King probably will not be greatly impressed by the organization of a committee about which he had not been previously consulted. I even believe that many of the Romanians abroad will condemn this headlong gesture, which would tend to deepen the existing differences when it is in the interest

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of the country to smooth everything out.

5. I believe that the attitude most indicated for the political parties to take would be not to proceed in the same manner as General Radescu in order not to lay themselves open to criticism. I am of the opinion that it is not a matter of proclaiming in our turn, right now, the formal organization of our committee side by side with that which General Radescu has organized. I add that, should the Allies find themselves confronted with two rival committees, there would exist the risk that they would not work with either committee until they both came to an understanding. Thus we would find ourselves in the same situation as General Radescu. In effect, it would be evident to all the world that the Radescu committee could not function without the political parties, nor could the committee of the political parties operate without the Radescu group. But if Radescu remains alone with his committee, and does not succeed in obtaining the aid of the Allies, (which I am convinced he will not) it is evident that this committee could do nothing without the political parties. Under this assumption, I believe that we would be in a better position.
6. I wish to state that, in declaring the above, I do not at all recommend the maintenance of a passive attitude. I am conscious of the fact that we cannot allow the impression to grow that the Radescu group is active while we are doing nothing. We cannot permit this either in the eyes of the country, or in the eyes of the Rumanians abroad, by this I mean to say that I believe we ought to proceed by a factual solution rather than by one of right. I am of the opinion that we ought to proceed in the manner decided upon this past spring in Paris; that is, to notify officially the Allied Governments of the formation of a Council of Political Parties, to inform them of the initiative which we have taken for the formation of a committee and of the invitations which we sent to certain persons outside of the political organizations, to show them that some of these personalities have already accepted this invitation, and finally to emphasize that, being a representative body, the Council of the Political Parties would consider itself the only body having the right to represent the interests of the country until the formal organization of a National Committee. We shall explain that we have not proclaimed this fact at the beginning, in a formal manner as a National Committee, desiring to keep a door open for the adhesion of personalities who have not yet replied to our invitation. It is understood that this would have to be accompanied by an intensification of our activity and with the creation of a better organization. I believe that, in this fashion, we shall satisfy at the same time the evident necessity of an organization of Rumanian activity abroad, and we shall avoid the impression that we are not giving due attention to the Royal prerogatives.
7. It is well understood that such a situation could not last very long. At a given moment, it will be necessary for the parties to submit to His Majesty the King precise proposals for the creation of a formal committee. I am inclined to believe that the most indicated moment would be the time when it is evident that General Radescu had failed in his hasty attempt. This moment will arrive soon enough after the proclamation of the formation of the Radescu Committee (once more I express my doubt that General Radescu will be able to proclaim the formation of his committee on 10 August). We shall then benefit from the most favorable conditions.

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8. As far as I personally am concerned, I am inclined not to answer General Radescu's letter. The invitation which I had sent in the name of the parties had been received by General Radescu before I received the letter from the latter. It is a matter of elementary politeness for him to answer first. He has not done this and I doubt if he will. This attitude proves the contempt with which the parties are treated by the group of personalities. At the same time, it is a fact completely incompatible with the democratic principles that General Radescu, instead of asking the parties to decide for themselves as to who will participate in this committee, arrogated the right to select their delegates. This was a means of insinuating that the political parties no longer exist, and that in this committee we would participate only as personalities. Finally, the procedure of giving us an ultimatum is absolutely inadmissible. If I were to answer him I would have to tell him all these things, which would certainly not contribute to the necessary relaxation of tension in our relationship. Therefore, if nothing new comes up that would oblige me to answer, I believe it is preferable that I do not write him.
9. There is certainly no objection to the other members of the political parties, who received an invitation, replying to General Radescu. I believe that, as polite as these replies may be — probably due to a desire not to add to the tension in our relationship — they would necessarily have to include the fundamental idea that the parties maintain the proposals already formulated and that they consider them as the only procedure by which a representative and democratic committee could be formed.

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